

# Africa

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## SPECIAL REPORT



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# South Africa Opens Doors To American Negro



Touring Africa on a Reid Foundation journalism fellowship and a U.S. State Department Specialist Grant, William Gordon was granted a visa by the South African Government in January of this year. Gordon, city editor of the Atlanta Daily World, entered the Union January 10. Here he describes his experiences in the Union and gives his own personal views of what he saw.

By WILLIAM GORDON

**THE WOMAN** at the airport in Accra, Ghana, gave a sigh of relief when I presented my passport and opened it to the section revealing a visa for the Union of South Africa.

"This always helps," she said.

There were reasons for her concern in my case. South Africa is perhaps the most segregated place in the world and airline officials have been cautious about whom they route in that direction, especially if the person is African or of African descent. Instances have been numerous in which non-whites have been refused entrance to the Union or turned back at the airport in Johannesburg. In 1957, two American Negro journalists in transit were arrested and held overnight.

In the light of this, one can imagine some of my inhibitions on the evening

I left Ghana for the Union. Thoughts of how the South African officials would receive me, even though I held a visa, were disturbing, frustrating. But I wanted to see South Africa in order to get a balanced picture of conditions in Africa.

Some of the passengers on board the plane knew of my intended destination and gave no ease to my frustrations. A white man sitting across from me kept saying, "I'm anxious to be around when we land at Johannesburg. I want to see how they will treat you." No one had trouble guessing that my thoughts were the same.

Another man began to talk about conditions in South Africa. "Some of the laws there are rigid," he said, "but they are there to control the blacks." Like many others I talked with later, he struck me as a disturbed person, especially about the treatment of Africans in the Union. He talked about restrictions against Africans, told how the same restrictions hurt whites as well, but also admitted that this was the price they had to pay for segregation. "It's a special way of life," he continued, "one that we whites don't want to destroy."

For some reason I didn't want to discuss segregation just then. I began to feel out of place; I felt caught in a situation I could do nothing about. I had lived in Mississippi and Georgia, and why did I have to come all the way to the Union of South Africa to study racial segregation? I

tried hard to dismiss all of these thoughts and concentrate on the experience of the trip. For the first time since I had been on tour I became frightened.

This may account for my mixed feelings when someone mentioned we were approaching Johannesburg. I could see the golden heaps of the mine dumps glittering in the early morning sun as we neared the Reef. It took little time after this for our plane to drop out of the sky and land at Jan Smuts airport.

## Eyed With Wonderment

The pressure from my thoughts was relieved when I left the plane and saw two Americans waiting to greet me. Dave Dubois and Kenneth Snyder of the United States Information Service were the first two people to welcome me to the Union. I walked between the two in almost perfect cadence to the large reception room of the airport and waited for my turn through customs. When my name was called, I was ushered into a room where I met a friendly white man sitting behind a desk. "How long do you wish to stay in the Union," he asked. When I made my request, he came back quickly. "If you like longer, we'll grant it."

This left me almost speechless, but I managed to come up with a gesture of thanks.

The moment I cleared with customs and collected my luggage I was met by a crowd of reporters and photographers. They followed me to a spacious

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office of one of the airlines. A crowd of spectators looked on as we went across the large reception room. I wanted to read the thoughts of this crowd, made up of people who eyed with wonderment the group of white reporters trailing after a black man.

Questions at the press conference took two forms:

White reporters from the South African dailies wanted to know if I encountered Communism on my trip over Africa. They also wanted to know if African nationalism had any roots in Communist methods and practices. In addition, they wanted to know if African nationalism, in its present form, was designed to eliminate the white man in Africa. I could only give negative answers to these questions. I had seen no overt signs of Communism among Africans on the continent.

On the other hand, African reporters were concerned about the Negro in America. They had read of the school problems in Little Rock, the Wilson case in Alabama and wanted to know if the latter would be killed for allegedly taking \$1.95 from a white woman. I found Africans in general much more concerned about what happened to American Negroes than about events of Algerians or Egyptians in North Africa. African reporters also wanted to know why American Negroes did not "come back to Africa" to help them gain their freedom and independence.

"They must not forget," one reporter said, "that they are our brothers. We look to them for help."

The cordial reception at the airport had given me a big surprise. I was even more surprised two hours later when I saw the lead story in the Johannesburg Star announcing my arrival. It was played on page one with a photograph.

After a few hours in the Union, I began to relax and move about in the manner that I had in other parts of Africa. On the first night after my arrival, I was invited to a barbecue at the home of a young Afrikaner family. Other guests also came, some out of curiosity of course. But I was equally curious to see and meet whites in the Union.

#### Fear, Frustration and Guilt

At times our interests almost reached embarrassing proportions during the evening. "You must excuse me," one woman said, attracting the attention of most guests present, "I can't keep my eyes off you. You're the first American Negro I have ever seen." I was at a loss for words for a moment. I had to be sympathetic, for this was the first time perhaps all of them had met any black person other than on the level of a servant. So we sat there, talking about conditions in America as they affect the Negro and conditions in the Union as they affect relations between white and black. It was here that I first



Author watches as African girl gives hula hoop demonstration at village near Pretoria.

learned something about the real problem in South Africa, the depth of fear, frustration and guilt white South Africans manifest about race and the future some of them envision in their country. I was given a series of invitations to visit other homes of white South Africans. It was far after midnight when the party ended, and I found other surprises waiting for me before we shook hands and said farewell.

Instead of heading for church on Sunday morning, I found myself headed for tribal dances at one of the large mines near Johannesburg. The thought of seating struck me as we neared the stadium, but before I could ask my host, a white man, where I would sit, I was ushered to a section marked for dignitaries. There I remained among whites during the entire show. During the intermissions, we all went out for tea on the lawn. There were no incidents.

Things were going so well during my first few days in the Union that newsmen approached me with a sense of suspicion at a second press conference held at the United States Information Service in Johannesburg.

"Has the Government given you a pass," one African reporter asked. "No," was the reply. "This is my only pass, the American passport," which I held high in front of the audience.

I found that the longer I stayed in the Union, newsmen wanted to know what I thought about the Government's policy of *apartheid* or complete separation. Others wanted to know what side America would be on if there were bloodshed between Africans and whites in the Union and Africans were forced to fight for

political freedom. They really wanted me to make a statement condemning *apartheid*. They wanted me to go on record denouncing the South African government for political, economic and social discrimination.

The fact that we were able to hold an integrated press conference in the Union pleased African newsmen.

"We never get a chance to meet whites until the Americans come around," one African reporter said. "We need more of you in the Union."

White and black took advantage of the situation by mingling freely.

#### Bad Housing and Good

I must admit that the reception by white South Africans was far more cordial than negative. Some officials on a high government level took time out to show me points of interest in the Union. They took me to see some of the housing for Africans and the visits did not limit me to the best; for I saw some of the worst, perhaps the worst housing in all of Africa. There were two villages near Pretoria, literally shambles where Africans were living without any means of sanitation. I saw others near Cape Town where people lived in shacks made out of tin. Old newspapers were placed on the floor and on the walls to keep out the weather. As many as four people lived in one room less than six feet wide. No restrictions were put in my way when I asked to see these slums.

I also saw good housing for Africans. Near Pretoria, I saw well planned and attractive houses for African families. They were among the best I have seen anywhere. I saw efficiently run stores stacked with goods,



operated by Africans.

In another village, the wife of a well-to-do African businessman took me on tour of her home where I saw a modern kitchen and furniture that would measure up to that in many American homes. There was a bath room with lighting and sanitary facilities comparable to any middle class home of American standards. I saw a lot that made sense from an economic point of view. All Africans were not living in squalor; all were not illiterate.

#### "Not Designed for Justice"

However, housing and the strong emphasis on paternalism seemed to me to fall far short of providing a solution to the problem of race relations in the Union. The needs of the African extend far beyond this. There are human needs, the natural urges of a growing population to be considered in the overall development of the country. The realization of this extends beyond the African population. This became clear to me the day I stood with an Afrikaner on a hill overlooking one of the newly constructed villages for Africans. He asked to remain anonymous.

"This is not in line with my work," he said, "because I have to uphold government policy. But as far as I can see, *apartheid* will not work in the Union. It is impractical, too costly to maintain. Africans are not getting justice; such a system was not designed for justice in the first place."

The latter point was brought out clearer when I talked to a staunch nationalist leader a few days later in Cape Town.

"It was never the intention of the white man in South Africa to include the native in the overall political and economic structure of the country." This man also saw failings in *apartheid*, but linked them to the failings

of government officials at the top "who had lost contact with the rank and file whites."

I later met other segregationists who expressed similar views. Even some of the Afrikaners most dedicated to the nationalist point of view saw failings and had to admit that a new approach had to be made and should be made immediately in light of growing African nationalism throughout the continent.

Additional recognition of the position in which the Afrikaans-speaking white people find themselves today was expressed by a young woman:

"It has become necessary that we speak the Afrikaans language wherever we go. This helps us to maintain our identity." However, against this growing dissatisfaction still exists an overwhelming dedication for the principles of *apartheid*, both among the young and old. They feel *apartheid* is the only means for survival for the whites in the Union. A young journalist of strong nationalist leanings made it clear that the Afrikaner would fight to the last man to maintain his position in the Union.

#### Africans Play 'Waiting Game'

The African population, which has experienced *apartheid* as a weapon of suppression and slavery, is as determined to free itself as the white population is to maintain control. The group to watch is the younger element of Africans. This group is more articulate, restless and less compromising than its elders. It is demanding recognition.

"We have tried almost everything," a young leader told me near Pretoria. "In America," he added, "you have legal means through which you can achieve civil rights, the courts are at your disposal. Here in the Union, we have nothing, not even the right to register a grievance. Where would

you suggest we go from here?"

Africans are without political franchises. They can't even represent themselves in Parliament.

At the moment, Africans are playing a waiting game in the Union. The right moment will come, they say, and then they will strike a major and decisive blow, ending conditions for all time. Only a few are willing to discuss their future plans openly. I sensed this the evening I spent talking to a prominent African doctor near Johannesburg.

"When I came here 30 years ago," he said, "there was not another house around, not even one in sight. I used to sit here on the hill and look out over Johannesburg in the distance. Soon other Africans came and we built what is now Sophiatown. For a long time, we lived in peace, but no longer, for I must sell this place and make room for white people. The city is taking this over."

He refused to talk about plans Africans had to avoid further shifting about and how they would deal with white encroachment.

The complete separation policy is hitting every segment of the non-white population in the Union. During another visit I went to the home of an African doctor in Lady Selborne Village. There I met Africans, Indians, and Coloreds, all living in the same village together. But I later learned that their story was the same as that of the doctor near Johannesburg. They would have to give up these quarters and move away to one of the locations set up for Africans. Under the Urban Areas Act, Africans, Indians and Coloreds are prohibited from living in the same areas. In addition, no African is allowed to live in any of the larger cities like Johannesburg, Pretoria or Cape Town. They must occupy special areas set up for

(Continued on page 13)

Gordon chats with reporters on Golden City Post, Johannesburg. Paper made him honorary editor for a day.



# NEWS ROUNDUP

## DEVLIN REPORT BRINGS STORM IN COMMONS

A major political storm blew up in London at the end of July with the release of a bluntly critical report by the Devlin commission, following its examination of the March Nyasaland disturbances in which 50 Africans were killed by security forces.

Particularly embarrassing to the MacMillan Government, which set up the commission in the first place, is the judicial group's determination that the so-called "massacre plot", which weighed so heavily in Government explanations of the firm actions taken against African leaders and the Nyasaland populace, never existed in fact. However, while the commission found no massacre plan, it did find that several Congress leaders had decided to resort to a program of sabotage and violence, and agreed the situation justified Gov. Sir Robert Armitage's March declaration of a state of emergency.

Adding to the Government's embarrassment, the commission described Nyasaland as presently being a "police state", and took issue with some of Gov. Armitage's public criticisms of jailed African nationalist leader Dr. Hastings Banda. The report largely cleared Dr. Banda of being responsible for any illegal activities in the territory.

In the Commons debates, the MacMillan Government stood by the officials involved in the Nyasaland events and insisted that the situation might have gotten dangerously out of hand had their firm actions not been taken. The Opposition, calling for censure and resignations, contended that the disturbances need not have occurred in the first place had more liberal and progressive measures been applied in the administration of Nyasaland.

With general elections expected to come sometime after the session now ending, the Government found itself caught up in a difficult situation, with the embarrassing African issues assuming a key place in British internal politics.

Two other African questions brought sharp criticism upon the Government at the month's end. One was the finding of an investigating committee that the commandant of Hola detention camp in Kenya had been guilty of gross dereliction of duty in the deaths of 11 Mau Mau detainees. The other centered around the proposed composition of a 26-member commission the Government plans to set up to prepare for a 1960 review of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland federal constitution.

## DE GAULLE'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETS IN AFRICA

These were some of the developments in the course of General Charles de Gaulle's 9-day trip to Africa to attend the fourth meeting of the Community's Executive Council in Madagascar on July 7:

- In response to strong hints from the



--Wide World

## LOCAL CHIEFS GREET DE GAULLE IN FRENCH SOMALILAND

Mali states of Senegal and Soudan on the subject of independence, De Gaulle is reported to have countered that each member nation had the choice of staying within the community or leaving it, but that the community was not going to evolve into a commonwealth of independent nations on the British model.

- The French leader promised the 12 former African colonies that they will soon be able to send their representatives to the world's international organizations, either as part of the French delegation or as separate, non-voting delegations. There were corridor reports that France might press for UN membership for the 12 states.

- Stopping off in Djibouti, General De Gaulle struck a hard blow at the Greater Somali movement, stating firmly that France will not abdicate its responsibilities in French Somaliland "no matter what others may do."

## CONFERENCE PLANNED IN 1960

Meeting this month in Liberia, the heads of West Africa's three independent states proposed a conference in 1960 to set up a "community of African states." President Tubman of Liberia, President Toure of Guinea and Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana agreed at a four day meeting ending July 19 that the conference should include representatives from the independent countries and countries whose dates for achieving independence have been fixed.

## GHANA FOCUSES ON INTERNAL SECURITY

The spotlight was on internal security in the news out of Accra this month:

- June 24: A government White Paper on the results of the December 1958 assassination plot inquiry (see June issue, Africa Special Report) announced immediate steps to increase the Ghana Government's powers of action against conspiracy and subversion. Minister of Information and Broadcasting Kofi

## NEWS ROUNDUP

Baako emphasized this was directed only at parties and persons seeking to overthrow the popularly elected government by violent or subversive means, and that Ghana was not, as reported in the foreign press, becoming a dictatorship.

- June 26: A bill providing up to 15 years' imprisonment for anyone making a false statement about Ghana or the government "by word of mouth or in writing or by any other means" was outlined to the House of Assembly.

- June 29: Kofi Busia, leader of the Opposition United Party, arrived in London with his wife and four children, announced that he had fled from Ghana to forestall his arrest. The Ghanaian Government, he charged, does not want any opposition in politics, is "seriously trying to wipe out the opposition" and "rapidly becoming a dictatorship."

- July 1: Ghana Attorney General Geoffrey Bing brought action for libel against Mr. Busia, claiming unspecified damages. Similar actions were instituted against two other leading United Party members -- J.B. Danquah and Kwow Richardson.

- July 5: The Speaker of the Ghana Parliament formally refused permission for Dr. Busia to be absent from Parliament for more than the 20 consecutive session days permitted by law, and said he would lose his seat if he remains away longer than that.

In other Ghana developments, trade unions that are not members of the Trades Union Congress are to be dissolved, according to a new amendment to the Industrial Relations Act. Unions will be given two months to affiliate or wind up their affairs.

In a general cabinet reorganization July 3, the Ministries of Education and of Information and Broadcasting were merged into a single Ministry of Education and Information, to be headed by Kofi Baako, formerly in charge of the information function.

### KRUSHCHEV OFFERS AID, FRIENDSHIP TO ETHIOPIA

A long-term \$100,000,000 program of Soviet credit for Ethiopia to aid in its industrialization, as well as the signature of a Soviet-Ethiopian trade agreement, were announced by Premier Nikita S. Krushchev on July 11 in the course of a reception honoring visiting Emperor Haile Selassie in the great white hall of the Kremlin. The credit arrangement appeared to well outstrip American assistance measures in Ethiopia and evidently represented Moscow's biggest bid for economic leadership in Africa so far.

Earlier, a 30-year dispute with the Coptic Church of Egypt, which had seemed likely in recent months to be leading to an open split between the Ethiopian affiliate and the parent church, was peacefully resolved when Emperor Haile Selassie paid a state visit to Cairo in late June. At a colorful ceremony

culminating the visit, Ethiopia's Archbishop was made a patriarch of the Coptic Church in a major concession to the Ethiopian point of view. The Ethiopians have long resented the fact that all authority has been centered in the Coptic Church of Egypt, despite the fact that some three-quarters of the 11,000,000 Copts in the See of St. Mark reside in Ethiopia.

The Emperor's five day visit to Cairo — his first to the Egyptian capital since 1924 — is generally regarded as part of a mutual effort by both countries to take steps to resolve some of the issues which have long strained their relations, including Egypt's role in Somali nationalist activities and Cairo's tendency to ignore Addis Ababa in discussing the Nile waters issue.

### CAMEROONS REGIME BLAMES UPC FOR TERRORISM

A wave of political violence which began in the French Cameroons on June 27 has been blamed by the government on the outlawed Union des Populations Camerounaises (UPC). By July 15, according to official sources, 15 persons had been killed and 53 were under arrest. Earlier in June, UPC President Felix Moumie announced following a meeting in Cairo that the UPC Steering Committee had decided on "continuation of the revolution," as a result of the UN Trusteeship Committee's failure to respond to the strong pressure from the African bloc to require the Ahidjo government to hold free elections under UN supervision in the Cameroons before the trust territory's projected independence, in 1960.

### SOVIET-AFRICAN FRIENDSHIP BODY FORMED

The Communist-oriented tabloid newspaper New Age, published in Cape Town, South Africa, gives front page coverage to the "recent" inauguration in Moscow of a new Soviet Society for Friendship with the African Peoples. The meeting was reportedly attended by scientists, writers, workers and students, who elected Dr. Ivan Potekhin, one of the Soviet observers at the Accra conference in December 1958, as president. Invited guests included, according to New Age, the Chargé d'Affaires of the United Arab Republic, the Counsellor of the Ethiopian Embassy, the Chargé d'Affaires of the Sudan, and a number of students from African countries.

### PRO-COMMUNITY PARTY WINS IN CHAD ELECTIONS

The Chad Progressive Party (PPT), local affiliate of the RDA and favoring membership in the French Community, has been returned to office with more than 50 out of a possible 85 Assembly seats in the recent Chad elections. Francois Tombalbaye retains the Premiership. Other parties holding seats in the reconstituted Assembly are the African Socialist Movement (MSA) and the Chad People's Movement (MPT).



# Bantustans Give 'New Look' to Apartheid

By JOHN HUGHES

CAPE TOWN

AMONG other things, 1959 will be remembered in South Africa as the year *apartheid* got its new look.

In the past 11 years of rule by the governing Afrikaner Nationalist Party, "*apartheid*" has been a confusing blanket term for racial separation, open to a variety of different interpretations even among government members themselves.

Of its end object, however, there never has been any doubt. This is to preserve the supremacy of whites in a land where non-whites outnumber them four to one.

This can be stated without affront to the government for it has won three general elections—in 1948, 1953 and 1958—on this "white South Africa" platform and its spokesmen over the years have warned time and again of the threat to the white way of life from the black masses. Today it is a brave politician indeed who would face the white electorate on any platform striking at white privilege.

Under South Africa's new Prime Minister, Dr. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, the end object of *apartheid* remains the same and Dr. Verwoerd makes no secret of it. It is to preserve white rule in at least the bulk of the country.

In office less than a year, Dr. Verwoerd nevertheless has already given *apartheid* a new definition. He has also introduced new legislation laying the basis for what he claims will be ultimate African self-government in certain tribal areas and reserves set aside for Africans.

When additional promised land is made available, these will total 13 per cent of the area of South Africa.

This then is *apartheid's* new look. Assuming that the promise of self-government will be carried out, Dr. Verwoerd apparently is prepared to grant 10,000,000 Africans a measure of autonomy in 13 per cent of the land as the price of maintaining the supremacy of 3,000,000 whites in the remaining 87 per cent of the land. Meanwhile the fate of South Africa's 1,500,000 Coloreds (of mixed racial descent) and 500,000 Asians remains undecided.

The 87 per cent is the most prosperous portion, containing the big cities, gold mines, industries, and transport networks. And whatever the government plans for the future, and despite development to date, no objective observer could quarrel with the statement that the 13 per cent comprising tribal lands remains for the moment unindustrialized and least developed.

Traced to its logical conclusion, the plan could mean South Africa's partition, for presumably if these "Bantustans"—African or Bantu states—as they are being called become self-



Mr. Daan de Wet Nel, South African Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, hands over the gavel to Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau, chairman of the Transkei Territorial Authority, in recent ceremonies establishing the Transkei as the Union's first "Bantustan."

governing, they also could secede from South Africa as independent sovereign nations. Dr. Verwoerd has faced this ultimate possible eventuality. But at the same time he has told parliament that he hopes these African areas can be bound to the white state through wise statesmanship, help and co-operation on the part of whites.

## Strong Reactions

The Bantustan plan has naturally stirred reaction across the country.

The government's bitterest critics label the whole scheme a "sham" and a "smokescreen," designed to present South Africa's color policy in a better light overseas and distract attention from less-pleasant aspects of non-white life in this country.

On the other hand the government's most ardent supporters have eulogized Dr. Verwoerd for his courage and vision. South Africa's color problem is indeed a complex one, defying easy solution, and many Verwoerd-supporters believe that the new prime minister has grasped the nettle in his hand and come up with a plan which gives *apartheid* a morally-acceptable basis.

Some of the most pungent criticism of the plan has come from Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, a longtime white champion of the African. Mrs. Ballinger is one of the seven whites who represent African interests in the all-white parliament of some 250 members.

Although this representation for Africans is lean enough, it is soon to disappear. Dr. Verwoerd says that as Africans are to get self-government

in their own areas, representation in the central parliament is an anomaly. The seven white spokesmen of the Africans in parliament thus will disappear next year.

In parliamentary debate on all this, Mrs. Ballinger charged the government had no intention of developing autonomous African states. She said that even if the intention were there the government would be unable to do so because African tribal lands are scattered and fragmented and never could be cemented into viable states.

Mrs. Ballinger interpreted the new plan as simply the "disenfranchisement of the whole African population" and said it was the "last deterioration in the political situation in South Africa which leaves the African people a completely subject race."

## African Nationalist Opposition

The Bantustan scheme has been opposed by the independent Institute of Race Relations in South Africa and also by the African leader Albert J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress. In a reasoned and moderate newspaper article Mr. Luthuli stated that Africans themselves had not been consulted about the scheme and that the vast majority of them did not want partition and separation. "Partition," he wrote, "is an admission of failure by human beings to live together in peace and harmony." Mr. Luthuli, who has since been banished by the government to his home area, and forbidden from attending any meetings or conferences for five years, expressed scepticism at the government's "self-rule" promise and said that the Bantustan plan was completely unacceptable because it gave Africans

(Continued on page 10)

Mr. Hughes is staff correspondent in Africa for the Christian Science Monitor.

# Culture, Politics Mix

## At New York Conference

**B**RILLIANT a *cappella* singing and the beat of African drums were interwoven between serious speech-making last month as the American Society for African Culture concluded its second annual conference at New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

The three-day open conference featured discussions on everything from political freedom to art, music, and the Negro American's cultural ties with Africa. A fourth-day business session, open only to members, confirmed the society's controversial policy of limiting regular membership exclusively to "persons of Negro descent." The policy is derived from the group's international affiliate, the Society for African Culture, based in Paris.

The conference was remarkable in several respects, notably the proliferation of discussion papers presented (at least 40) and the large number of distinguished African visitors present.

At the closing banquet principal speakers were Dr. Gikonyo Kiano of Kenya, Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, and Rep. Charles C. Diggs of Michigan. Opening remarks were made by the Society's Executive Director John A. Davis.

Sen. Kennedy, departing from the text he handed out for the press, told some 600 assembled guests that freedom would extend in the foreseeable future "from Algeria to the southern tip of the continent."

"It must not be," he added, "that these people when free will look back and say we were non-committal and neutral in their time of need. Instead we must hold out the hand of friendship to them now during this vital period even if on occasion it brings us into disagreement with countries of Western Europe who have been our traditional allies. In doing so we serve the cause of freedom." Sen. Kennedy said, recalling a quotation

from Dante, "the hottest places in hell were reserved for those who in a period of moral crisis maintained their neutrality."

Asserting that the goal, for the good of Africa and for the good of the West, is a "strong Africa," Sen. Kennedy called for a new American policy toward Africa, commencing in the area of economic development. He said U.S. aid should be concentrated on increasing agricultural productivity and diversifying one crop economies, and that private capital cannot do the job alone. He urged larger appropriations for the Development Loan Fund ("our best tool for African economic policy today"), increased Point Four assistance, and multilateral cooperation among African, European, American and other countries in an African regional economic plan. Sen. Kennedy said, however, that economic progress in Africa is not the responsibility of the United States alone, nor of the Africans. "It is primarily the responsibility of those European nations who have for centuries extracted the wealth of that continent."

### Universal Ideals

Dr. Kiano, American-educated member of the Kenya Legislative Council, said the United States needs leaders "who take positive courageous positions, not people who stand on the fence and say they believe in freedom but are not sure Africans are ready for it." He said Sen. Kennedy's remarks had been encouraging in this respect.

African leaders are irritated, he added, when Americans take an interest in Africa only out of fear that it will "go Communist." Several years ago, he said, one American official made a statement that "Africa is firmly in the 'free world' because three-fourths of it is firmly controlled by the Western powers." Dr. Kiano asked what kind of attitude this represented.

Dr. Kiano asserted that ideas of human equality and freedom had not been learned from Western white society but were universal ideas. In Africa, he said, these ideas have been inherited from the traditional background, whereby the people were represented by their councils of elders, unpopular rulers were unseated, and the principle of government by consent of the governed prevailed.

Congressman Diggs charged that there has been "a colossal conspiracy to minimize and obliterate" the "rich" cultural contribution of Africa to the world. The objective of this "calculated scheme," he said, was to exploit and colonize and impose an "aura of inferiority" on the black man.

Asserting that "the rise of all men is a menace to no one," he called for the launching of "an offensive to build up assistance to Africa." Congressman Diggs said the American Negro should have "as much interest in the development of Africa as the American Jew has in the development of Israel." He said there was no question but that "the Negro vote can serve as an impetus to underscore efforts to meet Africa's needs." The American Jewish interest in Israel should be an "inspiration and guide," he added, particularly in regard to the "lessons of solidarity."

In the course of the conference, discussion panels ranged over such







Michael Olatunji's drummers and dancers put on a lively performance at American Society of African Culture banquet.

Ed Bagwell

subjects as African leadership, African education, the African press, religion, literature, African pre-European history, and economic and social development. Of the questions discussed, none proved more provocative than those arising over the concept of "Negritude" and the cultural relationships between Africans and American Negroes.

#### "Negritude" Discussed

A New York writer, Mr. Harold Cruse, maintained in his paper that "racial integration" may not equal race progress, and that in a pluralistic society "the Negro must develop his own cultural, political, and economic institutions and his own philosophy." Mr. Cruse said he felt the concept "Negritude" was applicable to the American Negro, describing it as the missing component in the Negro's consciousness, the submerged link with his racial past without which his cultural potential is limited.

Miss Miriam Koshland, a specialist in African literature, said that "Negritude" in African poetry and writings meant a liberation from inappropriate values, European standards and restrictions in regard to thought and creative expression, and a proud acceptance of Africa, the mother country.

Dr. Horace Mann Bond, dean of Atlanta University's School of Education and president of the American

Society of African Culture, said the American Negro's traditional aversion to things African as a humiliating part of his heritage was quickly changing to intense interest and sympathy.

Harold R. Isaacs of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, maintained that for the American Negro, Africa presents new images, new emotions, the new and exhilarating appeals to prideful and beneficial as-

sociation, while the Negro still holds somewhere deep within all that was put there about Africa and his kinship to it in years gone by. In the past the Africans were the blacks, the "source of all the blackness, the depths from which all had come and from which all wanted to rise." Today, the re-emergence of Africa is having as one effect the re-establishment of some virtue, even beauty, in blackness. The Negro's past rejection

(Continued on page 14)



CONGRESSMAN DIGGS



DR. KIANO



SENATOR KENNEDY

*The goal—a "strong Africa."*

# Apartheid's New Look Examined

(Continued from page 7)

neither "freedom in the white man's areas nor independence in our own areas."

He went on: "We believe it is possible for all South Africans to live together, in peace, without barriers, without frontiers and without hatred. All that is necessary is that we should give up fear and practise tolerance and goodwill. We Africans have no desire to get rid of the white man, to destroy his civilization. We only want an end to the rule of 'Europeans (whites) Only,' which is slowly choking our country to death."

The scepticism of Mr. Luthuli and other opponents of the government plan over the amount of self-government which in fact will be given African territories may be traced directly to the network of Bantu (African) authorities set up by the government in these areas. These local authorities—tribal, regional and territorial—are said by government critics to be limited in power and subservient to the government, which wields extensive powers over them and their members.

Criticism of these authorities is based on the grounds that as their members can be nominated and dismissed by the government, they are no more than stooges and do not represent the feelings of the African peoples.

Already in various reserves these authorities appear to have stirred deep resentment and even violence. Some government-appointed chiefs and headmen in the Transkei area already have called upon the government to arm them against Africans violently protesting their authority. The government dismisses this opposition as the work of agitators and trouble-makers.

Though self-government may loom in the future, these organs of local government—subject to supervision by white authority—are all that Africans can currently look to in the reserves. And of them, Mr. Luthuli says: "They make the tribe's chief and his inner council absolute dictators over the tribe. They will make all decisions for the tribe but will not be responsible to the tribe since they are all appointees of the government and not elected by the people. This is not at all in conformity with our traditions."

## City Problem Remains

Some of the other questions which the Bantustan plan raises are these:

What is to become of South Africa's city Africans—urbanized, educated, sometimes the second and third generation of city-dwellers, who have no links with the rural tribal lands? These know as much about the land as the average New Yorker does about running a ranch in the West. The government's own Tomlinson Commission, reporting on land use under

*apartheid*, concluded that if the government did its best to attract Africans back to the land, there would still be one African for every white man in the big cities by the year 2000.

The government claims that these Africans never really have become de-tribalized; that if they do not move physically to the reserves, they can be persuaded nevertheless to look upon them as their national home.

White South Africa is in fact dependent on the labor of these city-dwelling Africans and so it is in fact

## 'New Era Has Begun'

"The black peoples have indicated that they do not want partnership—not in Ghana, and also not in South Africa. What they insist upon is full civil rights, and that must inevitably lead to domination by them. That would be the end of partnership. This is what the South African Government sees clearly, and for that reason it is advocating a system of separation. . . .

"The Bantu and the outside world must realize that a new era has begun in South Africa. . . . The Bantu want self-government and not just all kinds of concessions. World history has proved that no nation will submit to domination by another for all time. The Bantu people will not be prepared to be led always by the Whites. . . .

"The Government regards the Bantu Territorial Authorities as legislative bodies in the first stage of development. From stage to stage, the methods of control exercised by the guardian will fall away. . . . The first step will be the appointment of commissioners-general . . . who would be resident in the respective territories. . . . The commissioners-general will serve as a direct link between the Government and the Bantu and will help them to achieve self-government. . . ."

—From statements by Prime Minister Verwoerd and Minister Nel, quoted in "South African Scope," South African Information Service, March 1959.

unlikely that undue pressure ever will be exerted upon them to return to their tribal reserves. In the meantime, will these Africans always remain content with their voteless, stateless status as "temporary" dwellers in the white man's areas which are in fact their real home?

Another question which looms is the unequal division of land proposed

by the government. Will the African bulk of the population remain content with its less-developed, overcrowded 13 per cent, while the white minority rules the prospering 87 per cent? In parliament, Dr. Verwoerd rejected this argument as foolish. Must Germany, he asked, give up land to Belgium because the latter is more heavily populated?

## Doubts In Verwoerd's Camp

Meanwhile although the government has its critics outside its own party, Dr. Verwoerd's proposals have been received with some reservations even within the party, but beyond that immediate circle of Verwoerd men who believe that a grand new horizon has now dawned for South Africa. On the one hand are party supporters who believe that the *apartheid* concept has become far too liberal under Dr. Verwoerd and that the Africans have been promised far more than they ought. The suggestion that Africans should run their own affairs even in 13 per cent of the country is difficult for these ultra-conservatives to digest.

On the other hand there are some members of the party's intellectual wing, centered in the pro-*apartheid* South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA), who agree with Dr. Verwoerd's goal, but are dubious about his methods, particularly his ignoring of urbanized African opinion.

What exercises the minds of a number of these men is the sincerity with which Dr. Verwoerd plans to implement the African self-government plan. One of them told me: "We have been the pace-makers, preparing white public opinion, nudging the government toward a form of territorial separation which will give Africans opportunity in their own areas and give *apartheid* the moral basis which it currently lacks with its background of discrimination and petty frustrations for the African."

"Now we are wondering: How sincerely will African self-government be pushed?"

## A Question of Trust

One contradiction which has raised African suspicion in particular is the publication by Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, a top government aide to Dr. Verwoerd and one of the chief theoreticians of *apartheid*, of an article in a prominent South African quarterly, "Optima." Dr. Eiselen wrote: "The utmost degree of autonomy in administrative matters which the Union (South African) Parliament is likely to be prepared to concede to these (African) areas will stop short of actual surrender of sovereignty by the European (white) trustee."

Although this statement appears to be in direct conflict with Dr. Verwoerd's promise of self-rule, Dr. Verwoerd in parliamentary debate explained that the article had been written six months earlier—a tacit admission that his own ideas on the degree of autonomy to be permitted

African areas had undergone a major upheaval since then.

Whatever the truth of the matter, such incidents have contributed to African suspicion. The doubts of the government's own intellectuals are reflected by the African masses who, on the face of it, have far less reason to believe in government sincerity.

The fact of the matter is that "new look" apartheid hinges largely on trust. Whatever the promises for the future, Africans believe that for the moment they have been offered little tangible. There are the government-controlled authorities in the reserves, only at the local level. And in the meantime, what little voice Africans have via white representatives in parliament is soon to be stilled. This latter step already has roused the opposition of one government member, Mr. Jacob Daniel du Plessis Basson, who has been expelled from the government caucus for criticizing Dr. Verwoerd.

At the real crux of the South African color problem are, of course, not the tribalized Africans of the reserves, but the city Africans whose leaders such as Mr. Luthuli the government refuses to recognize, meet, or negotiate with.

Subject to the daily frustrations of the color bar, these Africans frankly appear in little mood to trust the white man's promises of what may—or may not—mature in years to come.

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## New Committee To Forge Ties with African Women

The Women's Africa Committee, a new organization to bring the women of Africa and the United States into closer relationship, has been formed under the aegis of the African-American Institute. The Committee, composed of 31 women holding key positions in national women's organizations and active in public life, will undertake various projects and cooperate with women's organizations in Africa to develop existing leadership to meet the challenge of a rapidly changing society.

Among its activities the Committee will act as a clearing house for information, making available such things as:

- lists of the organizations and programs concerned with African women;
- the names of African women leaders who might wish to visit the U.S.;
- the names of U.S. leaders currently working or traveling in Africa;
- information about university study and research programs of special interest to women.

In furnishing such information the Committee will provide liaison between clubs and organizations in the United States and Africa and, when requested, aid them in the develop-

ment of joint projects.

The Committee, in cooperation with the African-American Institute, will assist in the development of exchange programs between the United States and Africa, and will help plan itineraries and provide hospitality for African visitors in the United States.

"There is a general awareness throughout Africa of the changing position of women in the family and community," explains Committee Director Shirley B. Smith, "and often because of limited funds organizations are handicapped" in their growing scope of activities. The Women's Africa Committee, when it receives a request, contacts the appropriate organization and acts as a liaison in seeing that the request is satisfactorily fulfilled.

Miss Smith is an African affairs specialist who was formerly Assistant Public Affairs Officer in the United States Information Agency, during which time she worked in Morocco, Kenya, and the Belgian Congo. She studied African affairs at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and the London School of Economics, and holds a Masters degree in political science from Boston University where she studied under the African Studies & Research Program.

Members of the Women's Africa Committee include:

**Chairman:** Mrs. Oscar M. Ruebhausen, official observer of the League of Women Voters at the United Nations;

**Vice-Chairman:** Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, past president of the National Council of Negro Women;

**Vice-Chairman:** Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, member of U.S. Mission to the UN;

**Vice-Chairman:** Miss Anna Lord Strauss former president of the League of Women Voters;

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(Continued on page 13)



An experienced hand in African affairs, Committee Director Shirley Smith is shown here examining jeep engine on trek near Nairobi.



# Bank Loan To Spur Gaboon Development

THE tiny, sparsely-populated Republic of Gaboon became the eleventh African area to receive developmental loan assistance from the World Bank on June 30, when a loan equivalent to \$35,000,000 was announced, raising the total Bank involvement in Africa to 26 loans totaling \$619,600,000.

The loan was made to the *Compagnie Minière de l'Ogooue* (COMILOG)—a locally-incorporated organization in which the U.S. Steel Corporation holds 49 per cent of the shares, French private interests 29 per cent, and the official French Government agency *Bureau Minier* 22 per cent—for specific use in exploiting the equatorial state's highgrade manganese deposits, believed to be the largest in the Western world.

Total pre-production cost of the COMILOG project, which is centered in four plateaus near Franceville, deep in the interior of Gaboon, is expected to amount to \$89,000,000. The

Bank's loan will be used to pay for imported goods and services required in developing such basic facilities for the mining operation as a 45-mile cableway to carry the ore to a railroad at M'Binda, the 180-mile railway connection required to transport the ore to the Atlantic Ocean port of Pointe Noire in the neighboring Congo Republic, and storage and loading facilities at the port. Some \$7,000,000 of the remaining costs will be met by a loan from the French Government's *Caisse Centrale de Coopération Economique*, and the balance by the shareholders.

The first shipments of ore are planned for mid-1962, with initial production scheduled at the rate of 500,000 tons annually. A zone of about one square kilometer, selected for initial exploitation, is expected to yield nearly 9,000,000 tons of ore. World requirements for manganese, an important alloying metal used principally to toughen steel, are expected to rise

sharply in the next few years; the Bank announcement points to an expected increase in the consumption of Western Europe alone from a present figure of 1,500,000 tons a year to about 2,000,000 tons by 1962. Once the Gaboon project is in full swing, it is anticipated that manganese exports will add approximately \$16,000,000 equivalent to the country's annual exports.

## Other Mineral Reserves

Manganese is only one of the important resources which have been discovered in Gaboon in recent years. After 15 years search, oil was struck near Port Gentil in 1956. While the oil field is apparently not a major one, it is easy to exploit because it lies on the coast. Petroleum exports

## ECONOMIC NOTES

### FRENCH-SENEGALESE PACT

The first convention for large-scale technical assistance between France and a member-state of the Community was concluded in mid-June with Senegal. This convention, which is expected to be the prototype for several additional agreements to be concluded with other tropical African Community members, establishes the conditions under which France will second necessary technical personnel to the Senegalese Government pending the development of indigenous personnel qualified to man the technical services. Some 13,000 citizens of metropolitan France reportedly remain employed in the administrations of the newly-autonomous African states of the Community, and there has been an urgent need to establish the exact nature of their role under changing political conditions.

### FREE CIRCULATION OF GOODS

The customs agreement signed by Prime Ministers of the seven member states of the Community from former French West Africa in mid-June specifies that all produce and merchandise are to circulate freely within the territory of the seven states, and specifies that a common customs tariff will be charged on imports, irrespective of the port of entry. Customs revenue is to be apportioned according to the consumption in each country. Meanwhile, a committee was also appointed to solve certain tax problems, principally that of avoiding double taxation. There

was also discussion of possible moves to establish uniformity in the judiciary, in labor policies, and in certain aspects of the public service.

### NORTHERN NIGERIA PROJECT

A new company, Northern Developments (Nigeria) Ltd., with registered offices in Kaduna, will shortly undertake economic development in Northern Nigeria, according to an announcement from London. Formed jointly by the Northern Region Development Corporation and the Colonial Development Corporation, in agreement with the Northern Region Government, the new company will be primarily concerned with the investigation and promotion of commercial projects for industrial and agricultural development. Authorized share capital is £1,250,000 (\$3,500,000 equivalent).

### ISRAEL SEEKING MORE TRADE

Israel's Ambassador to Britain and a director of the Asian-African Division of the Israeli Foreign Ministry arrived in Nairobi in late June to begin a fact-finding tour of the East African territories aimed at establishing closer relations, particularly in the economic sphere, with this area.

### EXAMINE FLOOD PROBLEMS

Kaiser Corporation engineers and contractors who arrived in Ghana recently to undertake preliminary work on the Volta River Scheme have been requested by the government to examine drainage problems in Accra deriving from the recent floods.



Arrow indicates Manganese deposits.

reached 500,000 tons in 1958, or 20 per cent of total exports, and shipments are expected to mount to a million tons annually by 1960. Development of these valuable sub-soil resources coincides with the gradual exhaustion of the more accessible stands of Gaboon's principal traditional export, timber. Gaboon has some other aces in the hole too, including one of the largest iron ore deposits in Africa at Mekambo and uranium deposits near Franceville.

The Congo Republic also stands to gain from the projected economic development in Gaboon, since the logical and most economical way to evacuate the manganese from the Franceville area is through this neighboring state. The construction of the new COMILOG railway to link up with the existing Congo-Ocean Railroad to Pointe Noire (see map) will considerably increase the Congo Republic's transit income. In fact, the Congo Republic has joined with France and the Republic of Gaboon in guaranteeing the 15-year Bank loan.

# U. S. Negro Visits South Africa

(Continued from page 4)

Africans. There are similar laws which restrict Coloreds and Indians. The same exists regarding employment and education. Complete separation is the policy being pushed by law in almost every aspect of life in the Union.

## White Man—Friend or Enemy?

When I searched around for the reasons for *apartheid* among South African whites, I was told, "Africans would do better by being allowed to develop in their own separate areas." There are 13,000,000 people in the Union. Of this number, there are over 9,000,000 Africans. The ironical thing is that these 9,000,000 Africans are to have only 13 per cent of the land space in the Union while the remaining 87 per cent is designated to remain under white control.

The frightening thing to me, even beyond *apartheid*, was the constantly growing gap between whites and non-whites. "We come together only as master and servant," an African journalist said to me. "Such a trend is not good, for we are beginning to see the white man more as our enemy than our friend. White is becoming symbolic of hatred, bigotry and brutality."

His statement reminded me of the incident I saw along President Street in Johannesburg. While looking out the window of a building one morning, I saw a white man dash out of another building across the street and start hitting Africans as they passed his way. He carried this on for 15 minutes or more while others, mostly whites, looked on in amusement. The Africans were trying to run to avoid him, but no one raised a hand to stop the man who apparently was a drunk

or someone who wanted to amuse himself thrashing blacks. When I mentioned this to several Africans they smiled scornfully saying, "This is common practice in Johannesburg."

## Legislation Widens Gap

I was astonished to see no efforts by top government officials to bridge this ever-widening gap between whites and non-whites. Instead, more legislation was being encouraged to widen the gap.

"I'm beginning to get frightened over this," a prominent Colored man in Cape Town said. "I'm frightened over separation. When the African does get power, he will turn on us first, I am sure."

The same feeling was registered by the people of Indian descent, who have fewer privileges than anybody else in the Union. The 421,000 Indians in the Union of South Africa live in border areas of big cities with the bulk of the population concentrated in Durban. They have operated as small merchants and their best customers have been the Africans. No Indian can move from one city to another without special permission from government authorities. With stricter enforcement of *apartheid* laws, the Indian is rapidly becoming "a man without a country." While I was in the Union, plans were being made to move all Indians into separate locations entirely among themselves.

"What can we do," a restaurant owner said in Cape Town. "If they push us into locations to ourselves we can only trade with each other."

There are 1,281,000 Coloreds living in the Union, most of whom live in and near Cape Town. The Coloreds are faced with similar restrictions, not as severe as the Indian, but also difficult and frustrating. They have freedom of movement to any part of the country while Indians have none. Prior to the Separate Representation of Voters' Act of 1956, Colored males in the Cape Province were on the common voters' roll. They were later placed on a special roll. In January, 1959, plans were afoot to place more limitations on the Colored voter.

## Briton and Boer

Separation under *apartheid* policy extends even beyond the non-whites and into the white communities. It is far from being rigid, for the whites have control of the Union, economic and political.

The white population, which is 2,750,000 and occupies 87 per cent of the land space in the Union, is composed of two groups: the Afrikaners (the nationalists who are of Dutch descent), constituting 60 per cent of the total white population, and whites primarily of British descent who make

up the remaining 40 per cent. The Dutch first landed in the Cape in 1652 under the command of Jan van Riebeeck. With religion as an influence and the Bible as their companion, they soon spread like a fan through the most fertile area of this part of Africa. The British came in during the Napoleonic wars and in larger groups when gold was discovered during the latter part of the 19th century. Today, British interests control the gold mines in the Union, and also the diamonds. But the real division between the Afrikaners and the British extends back to the Boer War in which they clashed at the turn of the 20th century.

One will find in the Union a sharp line drawn between whites of British descent and whites of Dutch descent. In many areas, separate schools exist for British and Afrikaners. There is constant fighting between the Afrikaners and British press.

## Hope Remains Despite Divisions

The division of groups in South Africa is so clearly defined that the Africans have begun to look at the white man as a separate part of humanity, incapable of understanding or wanting to understand the aspirations of non-whites. The separation policy, as it exists in the Union, robs the African of his dignity and self-respect. He is not considered a man, but a child who is governed by the whims and feelings of a white minority.

Rigid legislation, such as the Urban Areas Act, the Locations in the Sky Act, the Color Bar Act and many others tend to suppress the energies and initiative of the vast African population rather than promote them. Affinity between white and non-white cannot be built in such an atmosphere.

Against this background, one can see the reason for the newly emerging Africanist groups whose position toward the white man is far from being moderate. Also against this background, the white man is beginning to see his position in the Union as a precarious one, slowly crumbling in the wake of advancing African nationalism. It is in the Union that African nationalism comes to grips with white nationalism and one must admit that distinct differences exist between the two.

First of all, white nationalism as it exists in the Union and in other parts of Africa has no moral basis on which to survive. It is deeply rooted in the superficial doctrine of white supremacy, a way of life rapidly losing its place against the pressure of world opinion. It cannot survive for it takes away the very thing that men of a democratic society believe in and subscribe to, freedom for the individual.

On the other hand, African nationalism points to the kind of society where all men can be free and governed equally, with no one group

## Women's Committee

(Continued from page 11)

mond, Committee of Correspondence; Mrs. Emory Ross, United Church Women.

Advisers to the Women's Africa Committee are Miss Bertha Adkins, Congressman Frances Bolton, Dr. Gwendolen Carter, Congressman Marguerite Stitt Church, Miss Virginia Geiger, Miss Joan Kain, Mrs. Edna F. Kelly, Dr. Flemma Kittrell, Mrs. Alice Leopold, Dr. Millicent McIntosh, Mrs. Richard Martin, Mrs. Rachel Nason, Mrs. Ruth Sloan.

The Women's Africa Committee is located at 345 East 46th St., New York City, the headquarters of the African-American Institute. Its work will be financed by voluntary contributions which will be tax deductible.

dominating the others. Such a doctrine is what the free world looks to and is fighting for today.

The question was frequently asked me, both in the Union and here in the United States, "is there any hope for the people in this section of the world?" There is hope in the Union of South Africa. There is hope, first of all because the whole white population does not subscribe to *apartheid*; it never has and never will. There is emerging a liberal element of whites in the Union, even on a government level. More and more, people are beginning to see that one can't continue to restrict the other without also restricting oneself.

I met many well-meaning whites in the Union, Afrikaners who are looking for a way to establish closer contact with Africans. It is my feeling that African nationalism as it exists in the Union will eventually have to join forces with white liberalism in order to free itself from the problems that exist there.

#### U. S. Moral Obligation Seen

We in America could do something to encourage this liberalism. The initial approach should be one of education. We could expand our foreign leader exchange program through the U. S. Department of State, allowing more people from the Union to visit and study in this country. There should be an equal number of both Africans and whites included in this program. It should be a two-fold program and could be implemented through tactful methods. We should be direct and bold about our policy in Africa, letting South Africans know what our position is on race and groups working for freedom and independence. We should be just as firm in our approach with them as we are with Russia. The denial of human rights is just as sinful in the Union as it is in the Iron Curtain countries.

We should also make it clear that we are there to help the whole population, not to impose restrictions or limit any group. We want white and black to get along, live together as free people, each respecting the other's value and worth.

If any country is to lead the free world, it is our responsibility to do so. We have just as big a responsibility in Africa as we have in Europe. We can encourage the white South Africans to realize that all energies of African leadership should be geared to building the country, not destroying it; there are resources and room for black and white in the Union. Americans have large investments in the Union. In addition, we buy large quantities of chrome, diamonds and other materials vital to the economy of the Union. We are in more of a position to take a stand on matters in the Union than anyone else. It is our moral obligation to do so.

## AMSAC Combines Culture, Politics

(Continued from page 9)

of Africa was, at bottom, his rejection of himself. In acquiring a new image of Africa now, Mr. Isaacs suggested, the Negro American is really engaged in acquiring nothing less than a new image of himself.

What is "new in the world," Mr. Isaacs added, is that "the white world has shrunk and its power to impose its judgments has begun to ooze away, including the whole bag of its imposed attitudes and relationships, its ethnocentric histories, its self-serving doctrines and justifications."

From the historical standpoint, Prof. William Leo Hansberry of Howard University reported that archeological findings of recent decades point to a probability that Africa was the source of early prehistoric cultures of Europe and Asia, and that the cradle of man was not Asia, as was once widely believed, but Africa.

On the economic side, the conference produced a number of authoritative papers. Mr. Elliot J. Berg of the Harvard University Department of Economics presented an extensive study of how economic factors have shaped recent political decisions in French-speaking West Africa, including the decision by all the territories except Guinea to remain within the new De Gaulle Community.

Mr. Berg noted that economic dependence on France has increased in these territories since 1945, so that when the option of independence was offered it would have meant such a radical break in existing economic patterns that African leaders were not prepared to take it, "particularly when they had the possibility of taking it later when they were ready."

#### Agriculture Called Key

Mr. Arnold Rivkin, director of the African Economic and Political Development Project at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, outlined present development efforts in Africa and discussed proposals for an "effective free world program of assistance."

Mr. Rivkin said it was essential that the evolving African states be afforded an opportunity of "seeking their fortunes in the free world," and that they not be left to succumb to authoritarian models "for lack of a free world alternative" which would satisfy African leaders in a hurry for results. Mr. Rivkin added that it is extremely important to diversify the free-world aid to Africa and to provide African states with an assurance that as their economies develop and their absorptive capacities expand, the fund of assistance to them is likely to keep pace.

Dr. H. A. Oluwasanmi of the University College, Ibadan, Nigeria, asserted in his paper that "economic backwardness" is the most urgent of

all the issues confronting Africa, and that in his view the key to industrial development and higher standards of living is a "radical improvement in agricultural activity."

Warning against premature concentration on industrial expansion, he called for a "realistic program of development" that will put the priority on agricultural improvement in order to maximize export incomes and free people from the land so their labor can be used in other pursuits. Dr. Oluwasanmi asserted that the export sector of agriculture is the largest potential source of capital in Africa. He cautioned those who wish to choose instruments of economic development which it is thought will sweep away the conditions created by colonialism but which "by their very nature are hardly conducive to bringing about sustained economic growth." What is needed, he said, is farm mechanization, improved technology, better marketing organizations, an efficient agricultural extension service, radical changes in the traditional system of tenure—so as to pool small peasant holdings into cooperative or group farms or farm settlements—and a reorientation of educational policies away from the arts and toward technical training in agriculture and engineering.

#### Strong System Urged

He also noted that "a stable and strong political system and an incorrupt social order are essential to rapid economic growth," and said that government is weakened "where the ruling elite is grasping, corrupt, self-aggrandizing and fritters away the scarce assets of society in luxury imports." This, he said, is a problem which rulers must tackle "resolutely and ruthlessly even at the cost of curtailing certain democratic liberties of the citizen." To a hungry and mal-nourished populace, he added, idealistic freedoms may have little meaning.

Guests brought from Africa especially for the June meeting included Dr. Kiano; Dr. Oluwasanmi; Malam Aminu Kano, leader of the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) in Northern Nigeria; Dr. Assane Seck, professor of geography at the University of Dakar; M. Patrice Diouf, Director, Service d'Information, Government of Senegal; M. Lamine Diakhate, Director of Information, Federation of Mali; and M. A. Baye Fall, also of Senegal.

The American Society of African Culture was organized following the First International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in 1956. Its program is designed to broaden American understanding of African culture and African contributions to American culture and to assist the emergence of modern African culture.



## PUBLICATIONS

**New Fabian Colonial Essays** (ed. by Arthur Creech Jones, Hogarth Press: London, 1959; 271 pages, 25s.) presents eleven essays on problems which face newly independent countries and Great Britain in the change-over from colonialism to the present-day Commonwealth. Former Cabinet Ministers and experts on colonial affairs write on social, political and economic factors, as well as administrative and international problems, in the Commonwealth countries.

The French Institute of Black Africa has published a special issue on the Mali Empire in its *Notes Africaines* for April 1959 (No. 82; 500 francs; order from Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, B.P.206, C.C.P.5200, Dakar, Senegal, West Africa). Articles concentrate on the origin and history of the ancient Mali Empire, with accounts of its legendary heroes, reprints of 14th and 15th century writings about Mali, and ancient maps. An extensive bibliography provides sources for further study of the ancient kingdom.

**Wembi, the Singer of Stories** (by Alice D. Cobble, Bethany Press, St. Louis, Mo., 1959; 128 pages, \$2.75) presents 25 folk tales collected by the author during her service as a missionary in the Belgian Congo.

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## Approved by the Lions

# Mashona Get a New Chief

By ENOCH DUMBUTSHENA

WHEN Willie Samuriwo, one of more than 200 children of the late Chief Samuriwo, was installed chief, the Lions of his father's tribe, the Varozvi of Chiota Reserve in the Marandellas District of Southern Rhodesia, had to approve of his appointment. He spent a night, unclad, with the spirits of his ancestors in the cave where they were buried. The Lions of the spirits roamed outside the cave and disappeared at dawn.

Had the spirits rejected Willie, the Lions would have devoured him. But they approved. The following morning hundreds of tribesmen beat drums and welcomed their new chief.

At the installation ceremony, a 100-year-old medicine man played for the chiefs and the spirits and danced the dance of the Lions.

The Mashona people of Southern Rhodesia believe that Spirit Lions are found in every tribe and family. The "lions" possess one member of the family and make him more important than the others. It is through the "lion" inside a living person that the fortunes and misfortunes of the family or tribe are told. The "lions" are the spiritual guardians of the tribe. For their guidance for Chief Willie did the old medicine man play.

Chief Willie is a member and preacher of the Methodist Church. He believes in one God. As a Christian he does not believe in ancestor worship. But in order to become chief he had to go through ancient and tribal ritual which made him accept the existence of tribal spirits. Had he refused to do so, the tribe would not have known that he had been accepted by these spirits. It was a sort of trial by ordeal for Christian farmer Willie.

The ceremonies followed a lapse of 23 years in the observance of chiefly

## Joins Staff at Boston

Former African-American Institute staff associate John M. Livingstone has joined the staff of the African Studies Program, Boston University, where he will work with the International Cooperation Administration program to train ICA officers going to Africa.

traditions and rights, for the last Chief Samuriwo died in 1936 and the Government stopped appointing more Samuriwos to their chieftainship. A prime mover in the restoration of the institution was Mr. Isaac Hanzu Samuriwo, the only African who sits on the Opposition benches in the Rhodesian Federal Parliament. Adding regal dignity to the festivities, he donned a headgear of ostrich feathers and a multi-colored red and white garment and carried the traditional symbols of power, the spear and "gano," a Shona Battle-axe. His wife wore the Xhosa traditional dress she brought with her when Isaac married her in the Cape Province back in 1946.

Another participant, Chief Mambo-Monomotapa, a man with piercing eyes and a brilliant memory for tribal lore, recited claims that three generations of the Varozvi people had once built Southern Rhodesia's mysterious ancient stone structures at Zimbabwe.

It was a colorful occasion, and one in which tribal rites and ritual superseded Christian ritual and beliefs. For the moment, it seemed, African Christianity had to tolerate tribal intrusion as Christians appeased ancestral spirits in order to fulfill their traditional obligations.

## Ghana Names New United Nations Envoy

Ghana has appointed Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey as permanent representative at the United Nations, with the title of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

Mr. Quaison-Sackey, who studied at Oxford and the London School of Economics, was formerly Head of Chancery and Official Secretary to the Ghana High Commissioner in London and was among the first group of Ghanaians trained for foreign service. Until now, Ghana has been represented at the UN by Ambassador to the U.S. Daniel Chapman.



ISAAC SAMURIWO



CHIEF WILLIE



QUAISON-SACKEY

# Visitors Here To Map Policy On Education

More than 25 educators from 16 African countries arrived in the U.S. July 25 to draw up plans for the establishment of a Commission on Educational Policy for Africa and to attend the 8th Annual Assembly of Delegates of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), in Washington, D. C. Their three-week trip is under the auspices of the WCOTP, which sponsored the original recommendation for establishment of the Commission. An exploratory meeting in Jos, Nigeria, last April laid some of the groundwork for the present session. Participants in the Jos meeting recommended that the WCOTP Commission for Africa be established to:

- deal with problems of African education such as curriculum, adequate teacher training, financing for education, school location and facilities, vocational and technical education, etc.
- make recommendations on education problems of critical importance for Africa generally.
- provide for emerging African countries a source of professional advice from experienced educators throughout the world.

At the present meeting, a formal document for the establishment of the Commission is being prepared for the approval of the WCOTP Executive Committee.

The WCOTP is a non-governmental organization which includes in its membership 152 professional teaching groups in 55 countries, including African countries and territories. The educators who have been brought to the U.S. to attend the WCOTP sessions on Africa are:

**BELGIAN CONGO:** Prof. Bruyns, Lovanium University, Leopoldville; **Luhahi Emile**, Methodist Teaching Service.

**ENGLAND:** L. J. Lewis, London University Institute of Education; **John Wilson**, London University.

**ETHIOPIA:** Eshete Bayou, Ethiopian Teachers Association of Addis Ababa.

**GAMBIA:** S. H. M. Jones, Gambia Teachers Union.

**GHANA:** Samuel Amissah, Wesley College, Kumasi; **E. Bennett Caulley**, Union of Teachers and Educational Institution Workers; **William F. Con-ton**, Accra High School, Accra; **Andrew Taylor**, University College of Ghana Institute of Education.

## Dr. "Zik" Revisits U.S.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, American-educated Premier of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, revisited the United States this month to consult with various groups on economic and educational development in his region.

During his two and one-half week trip, the popular Dr. "Zik", leader of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, (NCNC) and a pioneer figure in West African nationalism, sought support particularly for a University of Nigeria, to be located at Nsukka in the Eastern Region.

The 53-year-old African leader conferred with officials at Michigan State University, the University of New Hampshire, the International Cooperation Administration, and leading foundations and other interested organizations.

The Premier said the university was to be patterned after the U.S. land grant universities, with emphasis on agriculture, engineering, science and business in addition to a liberal arts program. He explained that a ten-year plan to finance the university from one-fourth of the profits from the Eastern Region's palm oil and copra industry is expected to accumulate \$14 million by 1965.

Turning to international relations, Dr. Azikiwe said "we do not know what will happen to-

morrow, but in Nigeria today we look to the Western democracies for guidance." As an independent country, "Nigeria will formulate its foreign policy in its national interest, but it will not be neutral on any issue which affects either the destiny of peoples of African descent anywhere on this planet, or the peace of the world."

Dr. Azikiwe was honored at a dinner given in New York by the African-American Institute. He was accompanied on his trip by the Hon. G. E. Okeke, Minister of Education; Dr. Pius Okigbo, Economic Advisor; Lt. Col. E. C. Alderton, Principal Secretary; Dr. T. O. Elias; Mr. C. Adophy, Press Secretary; and Mrs. B. Glew, Confidential Secretary.

Dr. Azikiwe spent nine years in the United States studying at Lincoln and Howard Universities and the University of Pennsylvania, paying his way with assorted jobs, among them dish washer and professional boxer. Returning to Nigeria in 1937 he founded the *West African Pilot*, first in a chain of newspapers and commercial enterprises launched by the leader.

In 1944 he became Secretary-General, and later President, of the newly formed NCNC and ten years later was elected to the Eastern Region House of Assembly, becoming Premier.

The Eastern Region, with a population of roughly 7 million, has been self-governing for two years within the Federation of Nigeria. The Federation will achieve complete independence from Great Britain in October 1960.

COVER: Dr. Azikiwe with Miss Mary Kagwa, Howard University dental student from Uganda, at a Washington, D. C. reception held for the Premier by the Nigeria Liaison Office.

**GUINEA:** Josephine Ki-Zerbo, Teaching Service, Conakry.

**KENYA:** Samuel G. Ayany, Kenya National Union of Teachers.

**LIBERIA:** Albert Porte, A. Timothy Summerville, Bertha Baker Ayango, Henry G. Greenfield, Magnus Amegashie, National Teachers Association of Liberia.

**NIGERIA:** E. E. Esua, C.B.E., Nigeria Union of Teachers; **Alvan Iko-ku**, Nigeria Union of Teachers.

**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** Martin M. Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia African Teachers Association.

**NYASALAND:** A. H. Mphonda, Nyasaland National Teachers Association.

**SIERRA LEONE:** S. E. E. Taylor, Amalgamated Teachers Organization.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** Eric H. Smith, Rhodesia and Nyasaland Teachers Association.

**SUDAN:** Mahmoud Abdul Karim, Khartoum Technical Institute.

**TANGANYIKA:** Francis Khashaija, Tanganyika Union of African Teachers.

**UGANDA:** J. C. Kiwanuka, Uganda African Teachers Association.

**UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC:** Abo Saleh, Elalfi, Teachers Syndicate, UAR.

The following visitors are in the U. S. under the auspices of the International Educational Exchange Service, U. S. Department of State:

**SOUTHERN CAMEROONS:** Peter Mboye Kemcha, member of the House of Assembly, Minister of Natural Resources and a leader of the Kameruns National Democratic Party. **Namase Nerius Mbile**, member of the House of Assembly, deputy leader of the opposition Kamerun Peoples Party and former Minister of Works and Transportation.

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